

244 these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such
 712 primitive implements.

244 Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the
 775 migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by
 425 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
 725 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man
 177 digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
 on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the
 resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must
 have been in earlier times.

423 The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions,
 621 one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the
 244 number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of
 those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members;
 and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the
 village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane*
 and *wakowouine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This
 redivision (*kotikotisinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All
 [522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and
 division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a
 near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts.
 These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized.
 The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year,
 but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
 244 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
 625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
 689 and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the
 reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his
 land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature
 coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
 423 an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures
 471 that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds
 592 that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands
 511 owned through lineage descent.

PATERNAL LINEAGE PROPERTY

421 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
 613 controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each
 paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

[A21] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (tai) to outer beach (tuo) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from tai to tuo; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach. [N4] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *haus* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from tai to tuo, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*no haus i te tona lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Anna. Four divisions (*no haus i te Jomungake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Uta, Wala-kakala, Te Welo, Te Puapua.

[34] The lineage sections of Yato run from tai to tuo on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognise none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 Each section (*haus*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *yilwaga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

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The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukama* trees, and graves of ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

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At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimos, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

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In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

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No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngaho held *futaki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *futaki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

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As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. These sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[591] people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *talo* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uwa*, control small
423 sections of *talo* beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control.
344 These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage
428 or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a
616 more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain *talo* lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three *talo* gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The *talo* lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY

421 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may
536 own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and *talo* beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and *talo* beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed the *yo* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of the *yo* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

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The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

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Individual named talo beds (*wi tungata taki fai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl. 1, A)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

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Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, maloa, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

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The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

428 she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough
[592] to control the house for themselves.

597 In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

WORK OF MEN	WORK OF WOMEN	JOINT WORK
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird rearing Canoe building Making of canoes, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, mats, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally) Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lots, modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	